Workers' Dreadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

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THE "LEFT WING" IN THE ELY VALLEY.

Tonyrefail Lodge Breaks Away from Trades Council.

In the I.L.P. of this district a Left Wing movement has recently developed, and has taken up an attitude of decided antagonism to the official elements of that Party. The Left Wing itself is, however, still enshrouded in the meshes of the Parliamentary net. We must not be deceived into thinking that the I.L.P. Left Wing has advanced very far from the ideology of the I.L.P. idols, Snowden and Macdonald.

In Llantrisant there is a Left Wing in the I.L.P. branch, which exactly fits the above description. Its members are at present in the sucking-bottle stage, but, with some good revolutionary milk from the revolutionary industrialist bottle, we believe that eventually they will shed their false ideas in regard to Parliamentary action and capitalist constitutionalism, and will blossom and develop into a real Communist group.

At Tonyrefail we have a Left Wing group which is decidedly anti-Parliamentary and anti-"Labour Party," and which is working with the object of overthrowing the capitalist dictatorship and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to be followed by Communism. This group has evolved from the Marxian classes and the unofficial committee of the S.W.M.F., and its activities in the local miners' lodge are well known in the district. The group is feared by the political reactionaries, and respected by the more class-conscious among the rank and file.

At a recent general meeting one of these "Bolshies" had the temerity to move a resolution that the lodge, comprising about 1,700 men, should break away from the local Trades and Labour Council. This Council has been for a long time a very reactionary one, assisting in the maintenance of capitalist rule and oppression by its infatuation for Parliamentary methods. To a man, the members of the Council are place-seeking opportunists. The resolution to secede from the Trades and Labour Council was carried by a two-to-one majority, in spite of the frenzied appeals of the reactionaries.

New Joint Industrial Committee Set Up.

It was also decided to invite the local miners' lodges and other trade union branches to set up a Joint Industrial Committee to deal with all local matters of general interest to the workers.

A week later another general meeting was held. Meanwhile the reactionaries attempted to give a false interpretation of the resolution to various sections of the community. They induced the ex-service men's association to send a resolution of protest to the lodge meeting. All these efforts proved fruitless, for the case put forward by the Left Wing was so effective, that the original resolutions were again carried, and by still larger majorities. This is a step in the right direction, and should be pursued still further by a complete severance from the Glamorgan Labour Party, a body which serves no other purpose than to support the capitalist dictatorship.

A Call to the Left Wing.

Stick to it "Left Wingers," and weed out the political place-seeking fraternity.

Put before the workers at every opportunity a clear course towards workers' control through the workers' committees. Op-

(*Continued at bottom of Column 2.*)

pose all participation in capitalist politics and administration. To set up workers' control we must abolish capitalist control, and this can never be done by supporting those so-called Labour Parties, the sole object of which is the perpetuation of the present form of Capitalist government, in which these place-seekers hope to obtain a lucrative position to keep the workers in subjection.

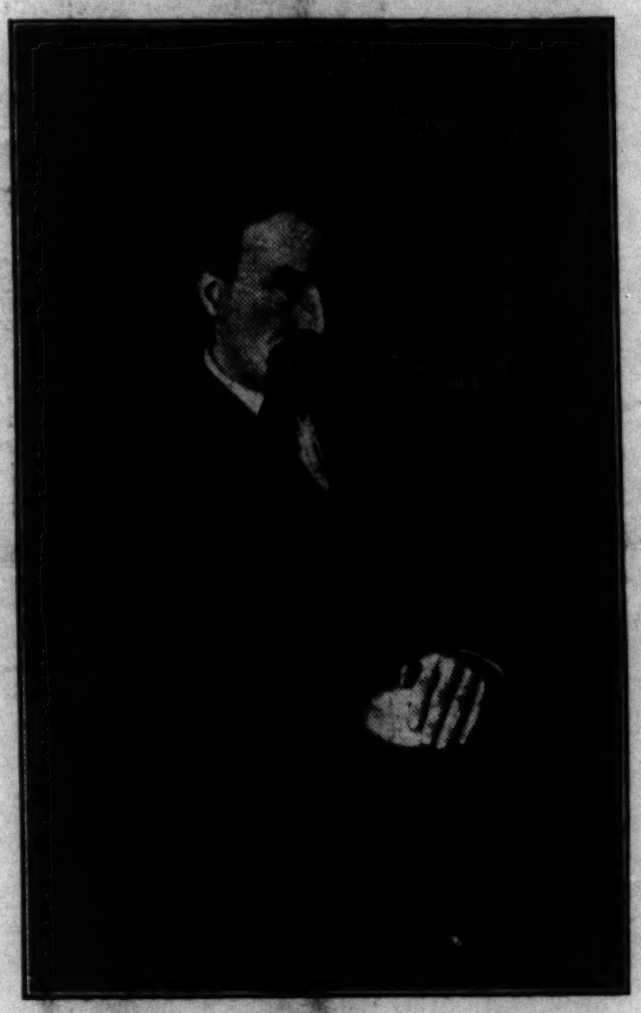
"LEFT WING."

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

Report by Comrade RYKOV

To the Congress of National Economic Councils, held in Moscow, January 22nd-25th, 1920.

During the years of imperial and civil war the economic exhaustion of European countries, and especially of Russia, reached an unforeseen magnitude. The civil war was still more disastrous. It raged over the greater part of Soviet Russia. It brought with it not merely a collision of military forces, but destruction, arson, explosion and dissipation of the gigantic treasures and stores of the Republic. In Southern Russia there is hardly a railway siding or railway bridge that has not been blown up. In the Urals, Koltchak took away machine parts, drawings, plans of factories, and carried off with him 90 per cent. of the skilled workers. On the occasion of the attacks of Mamantov and other White Guards



A. I. RYKOV.

an enormous number of factories and a great quantity of goods were destroyed.

Transport.

Formerly in the worst times the number of locomotives not in working order did not exceed 15 per cent. To-day, out of every 100 locomotives Soviet Russia possesses, 60 are "sick," and only 40 in running order. The number of locomotives repaired before the war amounted to 8 per cent. After the October Revolution it sank to 1 per cent. To-day the improvement only amounts to a further 1 per cent. The number of locomotives again put into running order amounts to 2 per cent. In the present condition of transport, locomotive repairs are so frequently necessary that the repair shops cannot keep pace. The number of locomotives is decreasing at the rate of 200 per month. We must increase our repairs from 2 per cent. to 10 per cent. in order to prevent further dislocation of transport and to maintain the present position.

Six hundred thousand pood of cotton must be transported monthly from Turkestan to the Moscow textile works. At present only two trains are at our disposal per month. That means that under the present conditions it will require decades to transport the eight million pood of cotton stored up in Turkestan.

A new metallurgical area—the Urals—has fallen into our possession, but hitherto only one express goods train per month was available to bring the Ural minerals to Central Russia. The transport of ten million pood of metal with one goods train per month would also require decades, even if we utilised only an insignificant portion of the metal stores existing in the Ural.

The workers of industrial towns are starving and do not even receive the trifling bread ration laid down as the normal for workers by the Commissariat of Food Supplies. Yet huge quantities of foodstuffs are stored up at the railway stations. The stores are so huge that the granaries are not sufficient; nevertheless, they cannot be put at the disposal of the hungry workers and peasants of Soviet Russia from lack of locomotives and railway waggons.

The transport problem must be solved at all costs. The productivity of the separate railway departments and the initiative of the workers throughout Russia must be raised to the highest degree. The Council of People's Commissars has decided to call up individual workers and working parties for the repair of rolling stock. The locomotives and waggons repaired by them will be utilised for the supply of provisions to the factories and workshops engaged on repairs. Recently this decision has been extended to fuel. Every factory is now able to command fuel, provided it undertakes to repair locomotives and waggons under the direction of the Commissariat for Traffic.

Every machine shop and metal works must be prepared to say how many locomotives and waggons it is in a position to repair during spare time and on Sundays.

Raw Materials.

According to approximate and inadequate accounts, the amount of flax under cultivation has decreased by 30 per cent. Formerly Russia produced over 20 million pood of flax. In 1918 we succeeded in harvesting about five million pood of flax, but the products of 1919 and 1920 is far below the figure. In 1918 we produced 4,350,000 pood in all. We hoped for a good cotton harvest, but in December and January a heavy decrease in the harvest was already apparent. This is due to a series of causes, but chiefly because the production of corn and breadstuffs is eliminating flax. Flax was principally cultivated by the peasants of the northern provinces, whom we have latterly been unable to supply with sufficient foodstuffs. Therefore the peasants grow grain in place of flax, because the prices offered by speculators for grain are higher than the maximum prices offered by the State for flax.

To Lift the Blockade Will Not End the Crisis.

The assumption that the lifting of the blockade and the conclusion of peace will alleviate the crisis in raw material is the greatest of errors. On the contrary, the lifting of the blockade and the conclusion of peace, if ever this should occur, will increase the demand for raw materials, for they are the sole products Russia can exchange with Europe.

The present stocks of flax will last us 8 months, perhaps a year. We have no great quantities for export. The same is true of the leather and wool industries. There has been a reduction in the number of cattle farms, especially of wool-bearing beasts.

The number of peasants has decreased since the October Revolution, and the number of large cattle rearing farms has also decreased. A process of levelling up has taken place. The wealthy peasant has decreased in numbers, which practically leads to a decrease of cattle-rearing farms. A general decrease of cattle-rearing throughout Russia means a decrease in the supply of leather and wool.

In the first half-year of 1919 about one million hides were procured. The number of hides placed at the disposal of the Government decreases each month. Measures must be taken to combat cattle mortality, and encourage the breeding of cattle throughout Soviet Russia.

Russia has always been dependent on foreign countries for leather. Before the war half the heavy leathers were imported from abroad, chiefly from America.

Fuel.

This question called forth prolonged debates in the Assembly. The population of Moscow suffers most from the shortage in fuel. The situation has improved. We produced five million cord of wood fuel by January 1st, 1920, i.e., half the amount laid down by the Council of People's Commissaries for the season, namely, 12 to 14 million cord. As regards transport, in November and December 1,400,000 cord were delivered by rail, and

one million cord by water—2,400,000 cord in all. It will be observed that transport does not keep pace with supply, and that out of six million cord, only two and a half million cord, i.e., about one-third, could be delivered. The main problem is that of hauling from the forests, and delivery. We have not hitherto been successful in this field, for out of the normal 400,000 waggons laid down for Moscow, we have had barely 300 waggons daily at our disposal. While the supply of wood fuel has improved, the supply of mineral fuel, especially oil fuel, is as bad as ever.

The most important coal area, the Donetz basin, has just fallen into our hands. I am not yet in a position to give exact figures of the supplies. I have only reports that there are 100,000,000 pood on the surface. But as long as the bridges and railways in the Donetz basin remain unrepaired, the supplies of coal there will not be available.

The coal area of Moscow, which lies within our reach, has not provided us with the amount it should for the supply of Soviet Russia with fuel, and the production of the previous year was no greater than that of the year before; it barely amounted to thirty million pood.

Under the Czar's regime the Czarist officials managed during the imperialist war, by force and compulsion, in the interests of a handful of nobles and capitalists, and with the help of prisoners of war, to bring the coal production of the Moscow mine area up to forty million pood, and over. The workers and peasants must be just as energetic and extract not merely forty, but sixty and eighty million pood. The Government of Workers and Peasants, with the help of labour discipline, and also, if necessary, with the help of State compulsion, must restore the coal area of Moscow in the interests of all the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. We have laid down sixty million pood as the figure for next year.

Food Supply.

Whenever we speak in the factories and workshops of increased productivity, increased wages, etc., we invariably receive the same reply: "*Give us more bread, and we shall be able to work more.*" The food supplies last year greatly exceeded those of the year before. On January 1st, 1920, the Commissariat for Food procured ninety million pood of grain in comparison with sixty million pood in the previous year. In this year, too, the peasants delivered half the amount they were called upon to deliver. There are sufficient supplies of grain in the granaries of the Soviet Republic to satisfy the requirements of the workers and peasants on the established scale, for three months, including April. If the peasants and workers have not hitherto received their grain in most consuming districts, the fault was not due to insufficient supply, but to the impossibility of delivering the grain stored up in the granaries. The problem of food supply to-day is above all a problem of transport.

It is, of course, no great boast that the food supplies of one of the largest grain producing countries in the world are insured up to the month of April. In place of the ninety million pood, we must produce many hundred million, the bread cards must be abolished, and every worker and peasant must get as much bread as he desires. Last year we made appreciable progress in the supply of bread.

When in the factory meetings it is claimed that the economic front can only be broken by means of food, it must be declared that the economic front can only be broken by work, for whatever aspect of the economic situation of Soviet Russia we regard, we always come up against the question of the productivity of labour. That only means that in the Republic of Workers and Peasants, the economic situation lies entirely in the hands of the workers and peasants. They have no real lack of food and fuel; they must put locomotives in working order to bring the food and fuel to the factories and workshops. For fodder four and a half million pood of oats are at present supplied. The deliveries, however, comprise only 25 per cent. of our requirements.

Industry.

In the first year succeeding the October Revolution there were supporters and opponents of nationalisation, supporters and opponents of trusts, supporters and opponents of the centralisation of industry. Their further discussion is unnecessary. In my report of last year I placed the number of nationalised industries at about 1,125. This year we possess about 4,000 nationalised industries. Practically the whole of industry has passed into the hands of the State and the Soviet organs, and private industrialists and manufacturers have been abolished. There are about 10,000 factories which include the home industries. The latter are not subject to nationalisation, and the 4,000 nationalised factories include, not only the large industries, but also a considerable number of the medium-sized industries of Soviet Russia.

Of these industries, about 2,000 are at present working. All others are at a standstill. About one million persons are in employment. Industry is passing through a crisis in so far as the number of people employed are concerned. The causes are those above mentioned, the shortage in raw material, fuel and means of transport.

Even in the industries which supply the armies, we are continually up against a scarcity of skilled workers. For weeks and for months we could not find a sufficient number of skilled and educated workers to supply the factories engaged in furnishing the Red Army with rifles, machine-guns and cannon, for the protection of Moscow and to destroy the White Guards. We were held up by the lack of 20 to 30 skilled workers. The disappearance of the most precious item in production—labour—has reached alarming proportions. Many factories possessing supplies of fuel and raw material cannot be kept running from want of skilled workmen.

The above causes make it impossible to utilise the machines at the disposal of the Soviet Power. The nationalised industries are the largest, and of these about 700 are idle. Forty-one per cent. of the industries, including the small industries which employ 76 per cent. of the working class, are nationalised. That means that these 41 per cent. of nationalised industries embrace three-quarters of the total national production. Only 57 per cent. of the industries are, nevertheless, working; 43 per cent. are idle.

As to the organisation of the nationalised industries, a larger proportion of them are joined up into trusts and are controlled by a corresponding central administration. Forty per cent. of the industries are linked together in this way.

The Metal Smelting Industry.

The total number of existing foundries is 1,191. Of these 614 are nationalised, and about 160 linked together. Last year forty million pood of metal was delivered, which comprised about 30 per cent. of the national need. Of this 30 per cent. only 15 per cent. was, however, used. For January, 1920, we can command throughout Soviet Russia, including the Urals, 25 million pood of iron and steel, about five million pood of other metals, and about three million pood of other articles. This comprises about a quarter of what is absolutely essential for the maintenance of our industries. And this is only possible because the Ural industries have fallen into our possession and form a substantial basis for the national metal supply. Until the reconquest of the Urals every smelting furnace throughout Soviet Russia was out of gear; not a pood of metal was being produced; and we were living entirely on such supplies as we found in the depots, factories, and workshops. The Ural is not yet entirely at work. Koltchak had carried off 90 per cent. of the technicians and an enormous number of skilled workmen. In addition, a large number of works were damaged.

According to latest reports a large proportion of the requirements Koltchak carried away from the Urals has been found in Tomsk. They are now being brought back, and we shall shortly be able to restart a large number of the Ural industries.

Fourteen of the 97 smelting furnaces in the Urals are at work. They can smelt one million pood of iron ore, i.e., not 20 per cent. of normal peace time production. Sixteen of the 90 Martin ovens are working producing 1,320,000 pood, about 25 per cent. of the peace time figure. Of the 14 puddling ovens, six are working. One hundred thousand workers in all are now employed in the Urals; that is, one-half the normal figure. If the decrease in the working day is taken into consideration, we get 40 per cent. of the pre-war production.

Metal-Employing Industries.

The locomotive works delivered in 1919 40 per cent. (50 per cent. at most) of the deliveries for 1913. Repaired locomotives are also included here, although the repair factories were only instituted the year before.

The construction of waggons has sunk to 10 per cent., the manufacture of spare parts to 30 per cent. The production of agricultural machinery is 30 per cent. to 40 per cent. as compared with 1913. Exceptions are scythes, 123 per cent., and sickles, 84 per cent. The production of ploughs, harrows, threshing machines, etc., varies between 43 per cent. to 20 per cent.; ploughs 43 per cent., harrows 26 per cent., and harvesting machines 36 per cent.

The machine industry presents the same picture, 30 per cent. as compared with 1913, i.e., 357,900 pood as compared with 1,000,000 pood.

Russia is living at one-third of the pre-war scale. For one or two years we might subsist on old stocks, but the stocks are coming to an end. We are daily approaching the time when these fields of industry will come to a standstill. The economic problem must be boldly envisaged, not a moment must be wasted, every effort must be exerted to ameliorate the economic life of the country.

The Textile Industries.

In the textile industry, which has been wholly nationalised, production in 1919 was 10 per cent. of the normal.

Of a total of about 7,000,000 spindles, only seven per cent. were being utilised; of 164,000 machines, only eleven per cent. were running. The deliveries of cotton have been practically nil. We had at our disposal in 1919 only 4¼ per cent. of the amount of cotton normally required by our textile industry. In 1918 we still had 15 per cent.; last year Turkestan was conquered, but its cotton could not be transported, and we could not even obtain five per cent. of the raw material required.

At present we have 467,000 pood of yarn at our disposal, last year we had 723,000 pood. The stores of half-manufactured products have also decreased. The monthly production varied as follows: January, February, and March, 200,000 pood of fabric; September, October and November, 25,000 to 68,0000. The whole industry of the central provinces, which takes the third place behind England and Germany, and competes closely with the latter, was almost completely at a standstill.

The woollen industry is somewhat better. The number of factories at work amounts to 64; the number of spindles only amounts to 25 per cent. Last year 14,500,000 arshin were produced. The woollen industry has stocks of raw material for another half year, and the maintenance of the factories is chiefly a problem of the supply of foodstuffs and labour.

Exceptions.

Certain exceptions stand out. The linen factories of Kostroma equalled the output of 1914. The same is true of certain woollen manufactures, and certain metal works, which exceed the output of the previous year. But these are of secondary importance, and do not materially affect the economic situation.

The blockade has compelled us, in order to avoid a complete standstill in the paper, textile, and other industries, to produce articles which were always imported from abroad. In this we have been very successful.

We have launched out into new fields in the textile, leather, and other industries. We are now producing cloth and sewing thread. Since we possess neither American nor Egyptian cotton, we use a mixture of flax and Turkestan cotton. We have recently begun the construction of large-scale electric power stations. We built the largest electric power centres in Soviet Russia at Kaschira and on the peat moors of Shatursk, capable of generating 40,000 k.w.

But these high-lights do not relieve the general gloom; they only show that with great exertions we can perform miracles in our Soviet Russia.

With great expenditure of effort we managed to provide the Red Army with a gigantic number of cloaks, and the number of these cloaks has increased from year to year. When, on the occasion of Mamantov's attack a portion of the equipment of the Army was destroyed, we succeeded with a tremendous effort in making the loss good, and provided the army with 3,000,000 cloaks, although many of them were not quite new.

These isolated facts and incidents taken from our economic life go to show how by intense effort miracles may be performed in Soviet Russia. These miracles must become general. The whole population must take part in the work of restoring our economic life and our economic resources. Strict discipline must be observed; the workers must prove themselves as courageous in labour as in the defence of Moscow and Petrograd. Idlers and egoists must be treated as severely as White Guards.

Whether we succeed depends on ourselves, for now we have sources of fuel and raw material, and tremendous reserves of labour at our disposal.

AN INTERVIEW WITH KRASSIN.

By Jean Longuet.

The *Populaire* publishes an interview between Longuet and Krassin, in which it is explained that when Longuet asked Krassin to give an account of his negotiations with Lloyd George, Krassin replied that he had promised not to give any interviews, and that this arrangement was binding on both sides.

Longuet thereupon showed him the *Matin*, where there was information of a malevolent and tendencious character, which could only have been given by someone who had been present at the official conference.

Krassin said that as members of the other side had been talking, and they had done it many times before, he could not be prevented from replying.

Krassin denied that on any point his statements had lacked precision and frankness. The Allied negotiators had said to him: "There is no question of resuming political relations, but only commercial relations." Then they immediately started discussing purely political problems, such as Soviet Russia's action in the East, in Central Asia, and in Persia. "No one wishes more than we to make complete peace, but those who wish to make peace must say so openly and prove their good faith. All problems must then be discussed. It would be too convenient for the Allied Powers to force us to give satisfaction to Britain, whose Asiatic frontiers are vulnerable, while at the same time she continues to attack us on other fronts. By abandoning our Eastern policy we should give up an important weapon, whilst at the same time another Allied Power, France, would continue plotting against us, and would arm the Polish aristocracy, an aggression that at the present moment does not seem to prosper."

A Deadlock.

"You seem to have reached a deadlock, as the English put it," said Longuet.

Krassin replied: "It is impossible to come to any conclusion at the present stage of our conversations. They may be broken off to-morrow. But they probably may—in fact, they must—be re-started in a few weeks after the Spa Conference. I have answered in detail all the questions put to me. I have clearly indicated that in a Socialist State like ours, it is only with the whole nation as master of its own destinies that it is possible to negotiate. I have demonstrated that it is not an obstacle to commerce, but the contrary, as is proved by the fact that traders from all over the world desire to do business with us."

"But it is necessary that we shall not be interfered with. We ask no more at the present moment.

"On the other hand, it is only too evident that international commerce can only be nominally carried out between commercial representatives of each side.

"It is essential for us to have our consuls in every country, to defend our national interests without chicanery or quibbling as to persons *gratæ* or *ingratæ*.

"The ever-increasing stability of our regime allows us to dismiss all humiliations such as might be forced upon a beaten nation."

"Nevertheless, the food conditions remain extremely bad in Russia?" asked Longuet.

Krassin: "How could it be otherwise considering the plots of which we are the victims. You know that I held the office of Commissary for Commerce in the Moscow Government. I had just started to organise the transport from Siberia of large quan-

tities of cereals and other foodstuffs. Then came the Polish aggression. It was necessary to mobilise once more all our waggons and locomotives for transporting the Red Army, and in consequence all non-combatants had once more to be strictly rationed.

"The responsibility for the renewed suffering of the people rests on those who have incited Poland to its disgraceful adventure."

Longuet: "It seems that the Polish Boyards and their associates in Paris and London are now getting the worst of it?"

Krassin: "Certainly. You must have seen the battering-ram thrust delivered by our Red Army; everywhere the Poles are in hasty retreat. In a short time the entire Ukraine will be delivered from Pilsudski's White Guards."

Longuet: "And after that?"

Krassin: "The revolution in Warsaw. The Polish aristocracy has asked for it. Everywhere the Polish workers eagerly await the moment to rise against their oppressors, maintained in power and supplied with money by the International reaction. Their power is everywhere crumbling. Poland is ruined by typhus and famine. This last imperialist adventure is the death-blow to Polish Capitalism."

Longuet: "Another question, Comrade Krassin. Is the Soviet Republic well established?"

Krassin: "Certainly. The continued treacherous attack of our enemies, forcing us to raise an enormous Red Army, which is our safeguard, has given to our regime a formidable support. No other regime could have resisted such trials."

"It is constantly said in the Capitalist Press that the actual cause of the Russian people's suffering is the Socialist regime, which has reduced the efficiency of Labour?"

"It is an impudent lie! Proclaim that loudly. I can speak with full knowledge, because as an engineer and manager I controlled many of the most important factories before the war. *I can assure you that the productivity of Russian labour has never been so high as now,* and this in spite of our lack of technical experts and skilled workers."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Provisional Organising Council of the Communist Party appeals to all revolutionary Communists throughout the country to observe Saturday, July 10th, and every Saturday following, as a Communist Saturday.

Communist Saturdays were initiated by our Russian comrades, who decided to devote their Saturday half-holiday to voluntary productive work to assist Soviet Russia to overcome her military and economic difficulties. Some of the Communist workers toiled at munition making for the Red Army, others were engaged on the production of essential industrial or agricultural products.

The proposal was made quite spontaneously by the rank and file. It proved most successful, and the production on a Communist Saturday exceeded that which had previously been customary on several working days. Lenin referred to the inauguration of the Communist Saturdays as the "great initiative."

We now urge British Communists to follow the example of the Russian Communists by giving their Saturday half-holidays to the cause.

All comrades who work for an employer on Saturday afternoons are therefore asked to give the proceeds of such work to the funds of the Party. Comrades who have a Saturday half-holiday are asked to set apart the afternoon for working for the Party by selling literature or the *Dreadnought,* speaking, canvassing, collecting funds, or in some other way assisting the Communist propaganda.

Sunday, July 25th, 1920, should also be observed as a Benefit Sunday, when the proceeds of all meetings and propaganda throughout the country should be specially set apart for the Party, and sent to me at 8, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, London, W.14.

ROBERT STOTT, *Hon. Treasurer.*

FROM PRISON.

An Appeal to Comrades.

Some question the existence of the class struggle, and persuade themselves that it is all a dream. If this be so, then life itself is nothing but a vision: why, there is even a philosophy that expands this doctrine as one of its fundamental tenets, saying that, when one's finger is burnt in the fire, it is nothing but an unfounded chimera of the imagination. We are not of that "intellectual" school, and we venture to say that no one *can* be who has red fighting blood in his veins and is prepared to battle for the cause of economic freedom.

While some comrades are debating, the enemy is continually throwing our comrades into these beastly holes—"behind the bars." To-day, it is we who are here: to-morrow it may be *you.*

The enemy never hesitates to apply force; never quibbles about using any and all tactics against the workers. We shall be compelled to do likewise. The faster we get sensible about it, the better. The message of the comrades now in prison is:—

"Better die fighting for our Cause than spend our lives in the filthy, degrading cells of capitalist 'civilisation.'

"Guard the speakers, who risk their all to disseminate the truth about capitalist slavery.

"Spread broadcast with renewed vigour the truth about Soviet Russia, and, in doing so, let us not forget that our immediate aim is to make England a Soviet Republic. In this way you will alleviate our sufferings and raise our hopes. Courage, comrades, and prepare for the final fight!"

MORD WILGUS.
B. di COLONNA.
PHILLIP MATLING.

Economics and Politics During the Period of Transition. By LENIN.

The Great Step.

The Russian workers have been liberated at last from the age-long exploitation and oppression of landowners and capitalists. This step forward to real freedom and equality, a step both for swiftness and magnitude, unique in the world's history, is ignored by the partisans of capitalism. Amongst these are the small bourgeois democrats who talk of liberty and equality in the sense of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, which they wrongly declare to be democracy in general, or, as Kautsky says, "pure democracy."

The workers who appreciate the importance of real equality and freedom, the freedom from the domination of landowners and capitalists because they have suffered under it, stand firm for the Soviet Power.

In a country of peasants those who benefited most and at once by the dictatorship of the proletariat were the peasants in general. Under the rule of the landowners and capitalists the Russian peasant was hungry. Never in the whole course of Russian history has the peasant been able to work for himself. He went hungry while he delivered hundreds of millions poods of corn to the capitalists for our towns and for exports abroad. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the peasant worked for himself for the first time, and fed better than the town dweller. For the first time the peasant beheld real, actual freedom: freedom to eat his own produce, freedom from hunger, it is already known that equality in the division of land has been established on a maximalist basis—in the majority of cases the peasants divide the land according to the number of persons to be fed.

Socialism Entails the Abolition of Classes.

In order to abolish social classes one must first overthrow the landowners and capitalists. We have accomplished this part of the task, but that is only a part, and not the most difficult part of our stupendous labour. In order to abolish classes one must, in the second place, abolish the difference between the worker and the peasant, and one must make all the people—workers. This cannot be done in a hurry. It is a much harder task than the first, and will, consequently, take much longer to accomplish.

It is a task which cannot be solved by the overthrow of any one class. It can only be solved by a constructive remodelling of the entire social economy, by a transition from an individual, a small, private trading economy, to a social economy on a large scale. Such a transition must necessarily be a lengthy process, and it would only be retarded and hampered by hasty and imprudent administrative and legislative measures. This transition can only be accelerated by helping the peasant to remodel the entire system.

In order to accomplish the second and more difficult task, the proletariat, having conquered the bourgeoisie, must unswervingly pursue the following line of policy with regard to the peasantry: the proletariat must distinguish between the working peasant and the peasant owner, the peasant trader and the peasant speculator. The be-all and end-all of Socialism lies in this distinction.

It is therefore not surprising that those who render lip service to Socialism, but act like small-bourgeois democrats, fail to understand this essential of Socialism.

To arrive at the above-mentioned distinction is by no means easy, because, in real life, all the characteristics of the "peasant," no matter how various and contradictory they may be, form one big whole. Nevertheless, the distinctions are there. They are the inevitable outcome of the conditions of peasant economy and peasant life. The working peasant has been oppressed for centuries by the landowners, the capitalists, the traders, the speculators and the capitalist States, including the most democratic republics. The working peasant has nurtured within himself hatred and enmity towards these age-long oppressors and exploiters, and these lessons, taught by life itself, compel the peasant to seek an alliance with the workers against the capitalist, the speculator and the trader. At the same time, the entire economic structure, which makes the peasant dependent on goods received from outside, tends to turn him (not always, but in the majority of cases) into a trader and speculator.

The peasant, who in 1918-19 provided the hungry town workers with 40 million poods of corn at the fixed Government price, by handing it over to the State organisatons, is a true working peasant and a comrade of the Socialist worker. He is the latter's most reliable ally, and his brother in the fight against the capitalist yoke. On the other hand, the peasant who sold surreptitiously 40 million poods of corn at a price ten times higher than the Government price, who took advantage of the needs and the hunger of the town worker, who cheated the State, and increased or created everywhere fraud, robbery and scoundrelly transactions, is a peasant profiteer, an ally of the capitalists, a class enemy of the worker and an exploiter. Only an exploiter of the hungry people can speculate with the surplus corn from State lands with the help of implements produced by the labour of town workers.

There Is No Equality of the Hungry and the Well Fed.

"You are the destroyers of liberty, equality, democracy"—is the cry raised from all sides against us. Our detractors point to the inequality, as between the worker and the peasant, in our constitution, to the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly, to the forcible requisitions of surplus corn. Our answer to these accusations is that no other State in the whole world has done so much for the removal of the real inequalities and of the real lack of freedom which for centuries had been the lot of the working peasant. We do not and will never recognise equality with the peasant speculator. We do not recognise the equality of the exploiter with the exploited, of the hungry with the well-fed, and the "freedom" of the former to rob the latter. And we shall deal with those highly-educated people who do not want to understand this difference, as if they were White Guards, even if they call themselves Democrats, Socialists, Internationalists, Kautzkys, Tchernovs and Martovs.

Proletarian Dictatorship Will End Social Classes.

Socialism is the abolition of classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat has done its utmost to bring about this abolition, but it is impossible to do away with the class system all at once. Thus the classes have remained, and will remain, all through the period of proletarian dictatorship. When classes have finally disappeared, there will be no need for dictatorship, but they will never disappear without the dictatorship of the working-class.

The classes have remained, but each one of them has taken a different aspect during this period of proletarian dictatorship; a change has also taken place in their mutual relations. The class struggle does not disappear under proletarian distatorship, it only takes a different form.

Under capitalism the proletariat has always been the oppressed class—the class which was denied ownership of the means of production, which alone was directly and completely opposed to the bourgeoisie. Therefore it was the only class capable of remaining revolutionary right through the struggle. Having overthrown the bourgeoisie, and having conquered political power, the proletariat has become the governing class. The State Power is in its hands; it controls the socialised means of production, it guides the vacillating intermediate elements and classes, it crushes the power of resistance of the exploiters. All these are special tasks of the class struggle, tasks which, formerly, the proletariat did not and could not undertake.

The Exploiters are Overthrown But Not Destroyed.

The class of exploiters, landowners and capitalists has not disappeared, and could not disapppear at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters are overthrown, but not destroyed. They retain the basis of international capitalism, of which they are part and parcel. They still possess some means of production, as well as money and extensive social connection. Their power of resistance has increased a hundred, nay, a thousandfold by the very fact of their defeat. Their ability in State, military, and economic administration, affords them a great superiority, so that their importance is considerably out of proporton to their numercial strength, as compared with the whole population.

The class struggle of the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, the proletariat, has become more intense. This is only a natural development of the revolution which the "heroes" of the Second International are vainly endeavouring to deny, by substituting reformist illusions for the hard facts of revolution.

Finally, the peasantry, and the entire small bourgeoisie are occupying, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a medium, or interim, position. On the one hand, they represent a considerable (and in backward Russia, an enormous) mass of workers, united by the desire, common to all workers, to free themselves from the domination of landowners and capitalists. On the other hand, they consist of small proprietors and traders in towns and villages. Such an economic situation must inevitably produce indecision and waverings in the relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. As the struggle of the bourgeoisie becomes intensified, all social relations undergo a great radical change, the ingrained conservatism of the peasants and small bourgeoisie is bound to lead to indecision and to sudden and spasmodic changes in the adherence of these elements to either one side or the other.

The proletariat must endeavour to influence and guide these vacillating social elements, steadying and spurring on the waverers and backsliders.

We have only to take into consideration all the fundamental forces or classes and the change brought about in their mutual relations by the proletarian dictatorship, in order to realise how infinitely absurd, nay, stupid, is the small-bourgeois theory (so prevalent in the Second Internatonal) that Socialism will be attained through "democracy in general." This colossal error is based on the belief in the classless character of democracy, a belief instilled by the bourgeoisie. In reality, democracy itself enters on a new phase under proletarian dictatorship, and the class struggle is lifted into a higher plane, superseding all and every other form of contest.

Generalities about liberty, equality, democracy are nothing but a blind replica of notions borrowed from conditions and relations in industrial production. The endeavour to solve by means of these phrases the concrete tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat is tantamount to adopting, all along the line, the theories and principles of the bourgeoisie. From the proletarian point of view, the only important questions are:—

"Freedom from oppression by which class?"
"Equality between what classes?"
"Democracy on the basis of private property, or on the basis of the struggle for the elimination of private property?"

(To be continued.)

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

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THE MINISTRY OF MINES BILL.

Sham Social Reform.

The Ministry of Mines Bill is a piece of that sham social reform which is associated with latter-day Fabianism and the Right Wing of National-Guildism. This Bill was assuredly concocted with the assistance of Sidney Webb or some of his disciples, prompted by some of the National Guildsmen. Sir Robert Horne, its sponsor, admitted that the writings of Frank Hodges have been studied and borrowed from. In short, the Government has paid a compliment to the Social Reformers by incorporating in this Bill some of their suggestions, but as the principle of the capitalistic ownership and control of the coal-mines remains intact, the sops to Social Reformers are mere useless ornaments. Of this fact the Social Reformers have no right to complain, since they persist in talking as though workers' control of industry and the social emancipation of the workers can be pleasantly achieved within the ambit of Capitalism, and without reducing a single dividend.

No Nationalisation.

Sir Robert Horne definitely stated that, whilst the Government "means to carry out its pledge to nationalise the minerals of the country," "*on the subject of the nationalisation of the industry, the Government came to the conclusion that that was not warranted, or justifiable, or expedient, or in the interests of the coal industry.*"

In short, the Government refuses to carry out its pledge to nationalise the coal-mines, and, for our part, we firmly believe that if the Government can dispose of the question of nationalising the coal-mines without encountering any formidable Labour disturbance, we shall hear little more of nationalising the minerals. If, in response to very great pressure, the Government should make a show of nationalising the minerals, it will be nationalisation in name rather than in fact, for the owners will be assured the equivalent of their present royalties.

It must be thoroughly understood, moreover, that even the nationalisation of the mines cannot alter the status of the miners, so long as the other industries are run on a Capitalist basis, and the Capitalists remain in power.

The Government Bill sets up a Ministry of Mines as a Department of the Board of Trade, and makes the Minister of Mines an Under-Secretary in the Board of Trade. No one will be able to say who is responsible for the work and decisions of the Ministry and, since the Mines question is always a troublesome one, the Government will have all sorts of convenient loopholes for shifting responsibility from one pair of shoulders to another, as it is so fond of doing in regard to Irish affairs. Said Sir Robert Horne :—

> "The Ministry of Mines should be in a position of complete responsibility so far as all the routine work of the Department is concerned, and should only be responsible to the President of the Board of Trade in matters which involve large policy."

The Minister of Mines will not be responsible to Parliament ; he may or may not have a seat in Parliament. There will be transferred to the Minister of Mines :

> "(*a*) Powers and duties of the Board of Trade with respect to the mining industry; (*b*) all the powers of a Secretary of State under enactments relating to coal mines, metalliferous mines, and quarries."

Where Does the Privy Council Come In?

The Bill further provides that :

> "(2) If in regard to any other powers and duties of any Government department relating to mines, quarries, or minerals or the mining industry or the persons engaged therein, whether conferred by statute or otherwise, it is deemed expedient that such powers and duties should be transferred to the Minister of Mines, or be exercised or performed by the Minister of Mines concurrently or in consultation with the Government department concerned, His Majesty in Council may by order make provision for the purpose.
>
> "(3) The Ministry of Mines shall undertake the collection, preparation, and publication of information and statistics relating to the mining industry, and shall co-operate with such Committees of the Privy Council as are formed for the purpose and any other Government Departments concerned in the initiation and direction of research in relation to matters connected with the powers and duties of the Minister of Mines.
>
> "(4) His Majesty in Council may by order make such consequential and supplemental provisions as appear necessary or expedient for the purpose of giving full effect to any transfer of powers or duties by or under this Act, including provision for the transfer and vesting of any property, rights, and liabilities held, enjoyed, or incurred by any Government department in connection with any powers or duties transferred, and may make such adaptations in the Acts or regulations relating to such powers or duties as appear necessary to make exercisable by the Minister of Mines and his officers, the powers and duties so transferred."

It should be noted that though Sir Robert Horne told the House of Commons that the Ministry of Mines "would only be responsible to the President of the Board of Trade in matters which involve large policy," the Bill nowhere says that the Minister of Mines will be responsible to the Board of Trade. It states that he will be an Under-Secretary, it is true, but it everywhere confers powers on the Minister of Mines without reference to the President of the Board of Trade. On the other hand it speaks of his co-operating with the Privy Council. The functions of the Privy Council appear to require very full investigation.

The fact is that the old Parliamentary democracy of our fathers' time, faulty as it was, no longer exists. Capital has a more complete and direct control over Government than ever it had, and Parliament is now a mere screen for other forces.

Control Helps the Coal Owner.

The Minister of Mines is to regulate the export of coal and the pit-head price of coal for home consumption and for export.

He may also regulate wages and the distribution of profits on the lines of the present Coal Mines Emergency Act, 1920.

The Capitalists and employers know by experience how little this sort of Government control interferes with either their profits or prerogatives, and how useful it is to them, especially in difficult periods.

The reason of the control is that the mine owners may get top prices in the overseas market and at the same time sell coal to the home consumers at prices not so high as to create really dangerous unrest, or to prevent other industries which employ coal from competing advantageously in the world market. The coal-owners fully recognise the value of these precautions ; they get as much as they can for themselves, but they recognise that their interests are involved in maintaining the general stability of the Capitalist system in Britain. Therefore they do not quarrel with this kind of Government control, which assures excellent profits to them all.

The Bill, moreover, promises the mine-owners some very substantial advantages. The Minister of Mines is to busy himself regarding drainage schemes for the mines. Though the Bill speaks of apportioning the cost between the owners of the mines, doubtless many loopholes will present themselves for entering claims for Government assistance in this matter, if not altogether by grants, at least by loans on exceedingly easy terms. The mine-owners have so many good friends in the Government that they are sure to profit by such provisions.

But the real value of the Bill from the Capitalist standpoint is the hope they imagine it brings of minimising Labour troubles, putting off strikes, and undermining, if only for a time, the influence of the Miners' Federation, which, in South Wales at least, is falling more and more into the grip of the revolutionary rank and file.

And so we have created by this Bill the Government-made Pit Committees, District Committees, Area Boards, and a National Board, for which purpose the country is to be divided into 26 Districts.

Says Sir Robert Horne :

> "The representatives of the men put forward, and Mr. Hodge repeats it in that pamphlet. . . . a similar scheme . . . the only variation we have made in the scheme is introducing an area board."

No, Sir Robert Horne ; that is not the main variation. The main variation is that you have retained the coal-owners.

But Sir Robert Horne has made also another mistake ; he suggests that the scheme put forward by Mr. Hodges and the other representatives of the Miners' Federation Executive was the scheme of the miners. As a matter of fact that scheme was the scheme of the Executive. The only scheme any actual miners are responsible for, is the scheme of the Left Wing in the South Wales Coalfield, which Mr. Hodges refused to place before the Coal Commission.

The Joint Control, Sham.

But to return to the Government-made Committee scheme. The Minister of Mines is to have an advisory committee, which is to consist of a chairman and twenty-four other persons, of whom, in the words of the Bill :

> "Four shall be owners of coal mines.
> "Four shall be workers in coal mines.
> "Three shall be employers in other industries.
> "Three shall be workers in other industries.
> "One shall be a mining engineer.
> "Two shall be managers of coal mines.
> "One shall be a coal exporter.
> "One shall be a coal factor or coal merchant.
> "One shall be a person with experience of commerce other than the production or distribution of coal.
> "One shall be a person with experience in co-operative trading.
> "Three shall be persons with expert knowledge of medical or other science."

None of these persons will have an atom of power ; they will be mere ciphers ; and should the committee have any influence in matters of detail, the workers in the mines and the workers in the industries will always be out-voted, since they will number together only eight amongst twenty-four.

The Pit Committees are to discuss the safety, health, and welfare of the workers, *also the maintenance and increase of output, disputes on wages, and other matters.*

These committees are to be composed half of representatives of the owners, and managers, and half of representatives of the workers.

The workers can gain nothing from such committees. Anything of benefit to the workers that the workers' representatives might induce the employers' representatives to accept could more easily be obtained by the workers through the power of their industrial union. On these committees the numerical superiority of the workers would be negated, and since the employers would not be willing to negate their power as owners, the workers would have to fall back on the power of their organisation, which in the last analysis is the power to strike or to take rebellious action.

The workers have everything to lose, the employers everything to gain by any discussion of "the maintenance and increase of output."

Reformers argue that the discussion of the workers' safety, health, and welfare, will have a humanising effect on industrial relationships, and that the workers will gain at least some concessions from the employer, without exerting the pressure of their industrial power. The reply of the revolutionary Communist is that no bridge of concilation can be built up between the workers and their employers ; on the contrary, the struggle must be intensified in order that the Capitalist system may be broken down.

Output under Capitalism must be purely

the employer's affair. The worker whose object is to make the Capitalist system bankrupt sets himself to reduce output, not to increase it, in order that the Capitalist system may be the more speedily destroyed.

District and Area Committees and the National Board complete the Government's scheme ; on each of these there are to be equal numbers of employers' and workers' representatives.

The Minister of Mines is to make regulations under which these various committees shall work.

"*It would be very unwise for the House to tie the Minister down to a rigid system,*" said Sir Robert Horne, giving the public, if the public pays attention, another example of the bureaucracy of British democracy.

District Wages to Depend on District Profits.

But now we come to the actual heart of the Bill : the provision that the Government cherishes as the precious talisman that will quell industrial unrest, by touching the pocket of the miner in an appropriate way. This is the provision, that whilst there is to be a uniform standard wage, a standard wage low enough to make a supplement to it absolutely essential, there is also to be an additional wage based on the profit which is being made within the area. This part of the miners' wage will vary from district to district and will be fixed by the Area Boards.

By making the miners' wages dependent on the profits earned by them for the employers, the Government hopes to bring to heel those naughty miners who claim the minimum wage rate and then "go slow," whilst they meditate on last night's Marxian discourse at the local class.

Trouble Ahead.

But this cherished provision is just the one that will cause the Government immediate trouble. Joint Industrial Councils are soon proved useless by all the workers who try them, but this scheme regulating wages, not by the selling price of coal, as at present, but by the profits, needs no trial to expose it even to the most confiding worker.

William Brace has no sympathy with revolutionaries ; he is always endeavouring to promote peace in the industrial world ; but, with more conviction than he usually displays in the House of Commons, he declared the scheme unworkable. He proved his case by quoting the following figures :—

The Scotch coalfields, employing 142,752 people, made a loss in the quarter ending March 31st, 1920, of 2.17d. per ton.

Northumberland, employing 58,717 men, made a profit of 18s. 5.21d. per ton.

Durham, employing 165,967 men, made a profit of 8s. 4.85d. per ton.

Cumberland, employing 11,119 men, made a loss of 10s. 2.5d. per ton.

Yorkshire, employing 165,831 men, made a profit of 10.26d. per ton.

Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales, employing 129,550 men, made a loss of 2s. 9.28d. per ton.

Somerset, Gloucester, and Kent made a loss of 4s. 7.69d. per ton.

The coal-owners did not suffer by these losses, because the Government guaranteed their profits and created a pool, in order that the high price of export coal might offset the low price of coal sold in the home market. Yet it is now proposed to make the miners' wages bear the brunt of the difference. As Brace pointed out, if this scheme were put into force, either there would be a tremendous disturbance in the coalfield, or the price of coal for homo consumption must be enormously raised.

It is quite possible that the Government, wishing to raise very greatly the price of coal used in this country, desires the agitation of the miners to aid it in doing so, and to prevent the odium of making the increase from falling upon the Government ; indeed it has already been said, on the Government's behalf, that the price of coal for the home market must be raised.

On the other hand, the Government may not fully press this question of regulating wages according to the profit made in the area. The Government may fall back on the proposal to nationalise coal on the basis of the profit made nationally.

Such a modification would still leave the Bill a thoroughly bad one. Whether the Labour leaders tolerate it or no, whether it ever becomes an Act, we believe the rank-and-file miners will refuse to work it.

Will the Labour Party Break Up ?

The news that the Tonyrefail miners' lodge has broken away from the local Trades Council and Labour Party should cause the Right Wing Communists who desire to remain affiliated to the Labour Party to reconsider their position.

The Left Wing of the industrial organisations which form the basis of the Labour Party are dissatisfied with that body. The forward elements recognise, not only that the policy of the Labour Party is at present dominated by reactionaries, but that a Party which attempts, as the Second International did, to combine all sections of working-class opinion, can never be a party of action. For this reason the Labour Party is bound to break up when the time of action comes. It is pre-eminently a party of inaction.

One swallow does not make a summer, but the first swallow is always the harbinger of others. The secession of the Tonyrefail miners is merely the first of a long series.

IRISH LABOURERS AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

By J. O'HAGAN.

Although mainly employed in small production, the workers of Limerick, Cork and Tipperary are more consciously "Bolshevik" than many theorists are willing to believe. I do not claim that they are fully Communist in their concept of property, but I think they are more conscious of their ability to produce wealth, and to market it, under a system of their own, embodying the principle "an injury to one is an injury to all" than those who have been merely wage workers for an impersonal, soulless limited company.

The line of cleavage in the class struggle here is neither wide nor deep, but it is, nevertheless, distinct and clear. The "personal touch" between employer and employed is by no means absent, but, owing to its very presence, the fight assumes the primitive "tooth and claw" character and the struggle is keenly intensified.

Strikers Control a Town.

There is here no tame watching of a man's shop by workers on picket duty; but a complete and immediate tie-up of his activities in every form. As I write, a whole town is controlled by the workers who prevent anything being sold except by their permit. Charleville, a market town of 2,000 inhabitants on the borders of Cork and Limerick, was placed under the workers' control in less than six hours. Banks, shops, and all places of business were closed and sales only allowed by strike committee permit. Those who had permits were instructed to place them in a prominent position in the window. No permits were issued to the employers who had locked out their workmen, and the men's pickets patrolling the town could easily pick out their premises.

Bread supplies, which were brought in from Cork, were rationed, according to the size of the family, and sold under permit at fixed prices, the sale being regulated by the pickets.

Mass Picket, Military and Police.

The shops in half the town had been closed when a conflict arose between the mass picket and the employers at a motor garage. The picket soon conquered, but as they were again forming up in marching order, the Detective-Inspector of Police came up waving his arms and demanding an interview with those "in charge." He was at once grabbed by his capacious waistcoat and dragged out of the way.

This happened not 15 yards from the Police Barracks, next door to which the soldiers of a machine-gun section are stationed.

The orders, "Fall in! Right turn! Quick march!" were then given in rapid succession to the mass picket, which soon reached the other side of the town. As the picket marched off, the police and military were ordered into the street and a machine-gun, from its emplacement in the Police Barrack window, rattled off a dozen rounds with a deafening sound. The firing was high, but the street was immediately cleared of some farmers who had been waiting with their cars; horses chased madly about and the picket, proceeding to the business of closing more shops, alone remained calm.

In one case the employers refused to close, but the mass picket prevented any business being transacted. In another case employers who had locked out their men re-opened their shop. The picket immediately cleared away the customers and directed them to shops displaying permits. The employers resisted the picket and a revolver shot was fired into the picket. It hit no one, but it was the signal for a general onslaught on the shop. An attempt was made by the crowd to break down the gate, and the strikers declared that, if another shot were fired, they would wreck the shop. They also announced that unless the arms were at once handed over they would search the premises for them, and that if anyone was found bearing arms they would be used to shoot him.

At this point a body of police and soldiers arrived and took up positions for firing on the crowd. The leader of the picket therefore gave the order to spread out.

Unfortunately, this enabled the foreign enemy to arrest the employer for having firearms in his possession, and he has said that the leaders of the Irish Transport Workers' Union did this deliberately. On the other hand, the workers who were present claim that it was the employer's own brother who went for police aid. As a result, actions for libel and slander are being taken in the Irish Republican Courts by two officials and a prominent member of the Union against the *Cork Examiner* and a wealthy farmer J.P.

Before the strike, prominent local publicans had made two attempts to get the dispute settled by a Republican Court of Arbitration, but the employers had refused to assent to this, but after the mass picket got to work the employers gladly accepted such arbitration. The decision was as follows :—

No victimisation of anyone who took part in the dispute.

O'Toole was found guilty of culpable negligence, but his re-instatement was recommended.

O'Brien made a statement in his evidence which he contradicted in cross-examination. Therefore he should be replaced by any other member of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

All men locked out to be paid for time lost and re-instated.

The dispute had arisen because O'Toole, a baker and corn merchant's assistant, weighed a stone instead of half a stone of oats. O'Brien, who was employed by the same firm, was dismissed because he refused to unload a motor lorry for the firm on learning of O'Toole's dismissal. The local branch of the Union threatened a strike to secure the re-instatement of the two men. A lock-out was thereupon called by the Employers' Federation. The dispute cost £340 in wages alone and at least an equal amount in loss of profit.

Political freedom for Ireland is all very well, but the worker must not be exposed to a system of despotic industrial control by an Irish Republic.

Boycott of the Army of Occupation.

Hardly a train runs in the South and West of Ireland. The workers refuse to man trains which carry the armed forces of the British Crown, and there is general sympathy with the workers in their refusal to touch tainted goods.

RUSSIA. (In Parliament).

Russian Flax in Britain.

June 28th.—Captain Elliot said that a large quantity of Russian flax has recently been imported, but that British spinners prefer to use Italian hemp which they acquired during the War as a flax substitute.

Japanese in Russia.

June 29th.—Cecil Harmsworth, for the Foreign Office, admitted the Japanese have occupied the Russian town Nikolaevsk, but refused further information.

British at Batum.

June 29th.—Churchill again said that the withdrawal of British troops from Batum is "imminent." According to Churchill such withdrawals are always imminent, but they seldom come off, and if they do Churchill usually contrives that the troops are merely withdrawn to some equally objectionable spot.

The War on Soviet Russia.

June 28th.—Lloyd George said the League of Naitons has approached the British Government with a view to the Government "taking its share in financing some international arrangement for repatriating prisoners." We are very suspicious as to the intentions of the capitalist League of Nations, and the Allied Governments in this matter. We have not forgotten that the captalist war on Soviet Russia began with a pretended attempt to "rescue" the Czecho-Slovak prisoners of war whom Soviet Russia was only too anxious to send home and had been prevented from sending home by the Allied blockade.

George Barnes asked Lloyd George whether "there is any blockade of Russia by the ships of this country." Lloyd George again lied deliberately : "The answer is in the negative."

Tom Shaw's speech of the 17th must here be recalled :—

> "When I asked in Petrograd as to the truth of the blockade, I was calmly answered : 'We will take you out to Kronstadt to-morrow, give you a pair of glasses, and you can see your own warships out on the water.'"

We quote this repeated and bare-faced lying by the Government merely as a reminder to our readers that the word of the Government, and especially that of Lloyd George, can by no means be trusted.

July 1st.—Wedgwood said the British forces have arrested Russian trade union leaders at Batum.

Trade With Russia.

June 30th.—The Foreign Office representative said agreements have been concluded between Russian representatives and groups of firms in Sweden and Denmark.

Bonar Law refused to allow discussion of the negotiations with Krassin.

British Troops in Mesopotamia and Persia.

On June 23rd there were 9,800 British and 55,500 Indian troops in Mesopotamia, and 3,700 British and 10,500 Indian troops in North-West Persia. There were also 637 British and 307 native members of the Air Force in Mesopotamia, and 31 British and 5 native members of that force in North-West Persia.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

The Greek Attack on Turkey.

Kenworthy (Lib.), asked whether the Government has entered into any obligations to assist the Greek military operations against Turkey.

Again Lloyd George lied: "The answer is in the negative."

What Does Mrs. Snowden Say?

The Prime Minister was asked whether a committee of the Cabinet has been formed to deal with questions affecting the League of Nations, and whether that committee consists of the Lord President of the Council, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the President of the Board of Education. He answered: "I do not think it desirable to give the names and particulars of committees of the Cabinet which are set up from time to time. It is a great mistake, it happens to get into the press now and again, and if you answer questions about one, you have to answer about several questions. . . ."

And yet silly people, like Mrs. Snowden are saying that we have nothing to learn from Soviet Russia, and that Socialism is coming more quickly here than in Russia—because, as they allege, the control of affairs in Russia is in the hands of a few people!

Allies Falling Out.—Anti-British Feeling in Italy.

W. Preston, (C.U.), alleged that British mails have been held up for months in the Italian post offices. Fourteen railway wagons full of British mails, having accumulated in Genoa since March, the British Embassy and Consulates in Italy have offered to assist the delivery of British mails in Italy, but their offer has been declined, and the British Embassy alleges that the delay is due to strong political feeling against this country.

The Prime Minister had not heard anything about it.

Ex-Service Men in Pauper Lunatic Asylums.

"A man's a man for a' that"; but so many promises were made about the honour that was to be paid to the men who fought in the War that many people are against these men being sent to Workhouses and "pauper" lunatic asylums, though it never struck them to protest against either their own nearest and dearest, or any other human beings having to go there.

The Secretary to the Minister of Pensions stated that an ex-Service man in a pauper lunatic asylum is treated "not as a pauper, but as a Service patient, if his condition is found to be due to his service in the War."

Thus Private Brown, V.C., may be treated as a Service patient, whilst Private Smih, V.C., who fought beside him, will be treated as a pauper because the doctors have a theory that Smith's disability was inherited from his great-grandfather, or caused by the shock of an air raid when he was home on leave. Privileges are accorded to the unfortunate Brown which are denied to the unfortunate Smith, whom the medical wiseacres have pronounced a pauper.

It was pompously stated that the maintenance of the Service patient is "borne by the Ministry of Pensions." That simply means that the man's pension is docked and his dependants are made to suffer.

Ex-Service men and their friends are angered by this sort of thing. Service men and ex-Service men have the power to change the system, but they assist in maintaining it.

June 28th.—Ex-Colonel Malone suggested that munitions had been sent from Broadheath Ordnance Camp, Altrincham, to Poland during the past six months. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions declared that none have been sent.

Now then, Altrincham Communists, put your detective abilities to work!

Free Press?

The Foreign Office Under Secretary admitted that tow German newspapers, the *Kolnische Volkzeitung* and the *Rheinische Zeitung* "were suppressed for statements derogatory to the Allies."

Yet our Government professes horror because Soviet Russia suppresses counter-revolutionary newspapers.

For the Blind.

The Government proposal to give the old age pension to blind people at 50 years was criticised as not going far enough by some Liberal Members.

The War With Turkey.

June 30th.—Kenworthy asked whether negotiations are in progress for avoiding further hostilities in Turkey. Bonar Law said "No," and added, "The Greek troops are co-operating with the Allied forces to resist an attack delivered by a common enemy."

Bonar Law said the hostilities will probably mean raising more money than that provided for in the Army estimates.

Peace?

Bonar Law could not say whether peace celebrations will be held this year. Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy: "But surely, Mr. Speaker, we are going to celebrate the present reign of peace resulting from the efforts of the right hon. gentleman and his friends!"

Mandates.

Asked whether the Powers now controlling conquered territories will render a report of the trusteeship before being entrusted with a Mandate for them, Bonar Law indignantly replied that no such report is, or can be, contemplated. Asked what guarantee there is that the Mandate will be properly administered, Law said: "The only guarantee is the consideration that this country and all other countries will carry out the obligations."

Montagu's Evasions.

June 30th.—Questions were asked as to why A. W. Montagu, the Secretary for India, pretended not to know anything about the Punjaub disturbances and the Amritsar affair, though full reports of the occurences were lying in the India Office, and though he had discussed them with General O'Dwyer, who found that he knew all about the shooting, the casualties, and the crawling order?

Montagu merely evaded the questions. It seems that he did all he could to hush up the affair.

Pensions For Teachers and Police.

A resolution to grant small increases in pensions and superannuation allowances to elementary schoolteachers and police was agreed to. The pensions are not to exceed £150 to the unmarried or £200 to the married.

Unemployed Ex-Soldiers.

The National Federation of Discharged Soldiers and Sailors claims that 325,000 of its members are out of work. The Government says there are 200,000 ex-Service men unemployed.

Indian Labour.

July 1st.—The Secretary for India stated that the International Labour Conference at Washington had fixed a 60-hour week for Indian industries, and an age minimum of 12 years for child labour.

The Labour Party asks us to pin our faith to the League of Nations Labour regulations rather than to the Soviets!

Increase of Rent Bill.

July 1st.—The Bill to increase house rents up to 40 per cent. came back from the House of Lords, and all the amendments made there were agreed to. When the Bill was passing through the Commons, Aneurin Williams, a Liberal, moved an amendment stating that where a tenant is in the employment of the landlord, and where such employment comes to an end, an order to evict the tenant shall not be given unless, "in the opinion of the Court, greater hardship would be caused by refusing the order for possession than by granting it." The object of this amendment was mainly to prevent workers being punished by eviction following on dismissal in a strike or lock-out. Dr. Addison, Lloyd George's Minister of Health, promised to get the amendment inserted in the House of Lords, but the Lords refused it.

It was pretended that 99 per cent. of the Commons supported the amendment, yet only 42 Members voted against the Lords' decision.

Some other amendments made by the Lords were objected to, and these the Lords agreed to drop: the Labour Members took the matter with their usual calm.

Unemployment Insurance Bill.

July 2nd.—James Sexton, on behalf of the Labour Party, moved an amendment to make unemployment insurance non-contributory. 46 Members voted for it, 168 against.

An amendment was moved to ensure that workers thrown out of employment in consequence of a trade dispute in which they are not concerned shall not be deprived of unemployment benefit.

Crafty Dr. Macnamara, on the Government's behalf, pretended great sympathy with the amendment, but said it was exceedingly difficult to agree on the form of words that would precisely express it. He could not say where the wording of the amendment was at fault, but still he refused to countenance it. Finally, he said that if a form of words could be agreed upon which would meet the case, he would arrange for an amendment embodying them to be moved in the House of Lords. This was the dodge Addison had used to dispose of the amendment to the Rent Act protecting strikers from eviction by their employers. The Lords had refused that amendment. Major Barnes (a Coalition Liberal), pointed this out to Macnamara, who replied: "I hope I shall not be pressed further in the matter." The amendment was negatived without a vote being taken—so the farce went on.

Clynes moved an amendment to prevent friendly and insurance societies taking part in administering unemployment benefit in order that this might be left to the trade unions. George Roberts, the Norwich renegade, made a facing-both-ways speech that threw a vivid light on his time-serving character. He said:—

"If I were serving my own personal or political interests I ought to associate myself with my hon. friend the Member for Edinburgh, because I am assured that in the next election I shall not receive much support from the organised Labour forces in Norwich. Therefore I ought now to be currying favour with the great trade union movement. Nevertheless, I have reached the conclusion, after due consideration, that my hon. friends who represent the great trade union movement are not serving the interests of that movement, as I understand them, by forcing this question to an acute issue."

A little later he said:—

"My own position would be best secured if I were to throw myself into close association with the friendly society movement in this matter."

His argument seemed to be that the friendly societies should have administered the Health Insurance benefits and that the trade unions might deal with unemployment, but that he would prefer to supercede the trade unions altogether by some kind of joint committees of employers and employed. It would be too much to say that Roberts actually advocated this, but that is the impression his speech leaves in our mind.

IRELAND.

Shall the People Be Disarmed?

Kenworthy (Lib.), urged that on account of the fighting in Londonderry, the population should be disarmed.

Lloyd George said the plans of the Government cannot be disclosed.

To disarm the people is merely to leave all power in the hands of the class which, at present, is dominant.

Arresting a Brigadier-General.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the War Office offended the susceptibilities of the militarists by referring to the kidnapping of Brigadier-General Lucas, as an "arrest."

The Goverment of Ireland Bill.

June 28th.—Captain Benn (Lib.), protested that the Bill is a farce and that whole clauses are passing through Committee without discussion or explanation. Sir Philip Pliditch (Coalition-Unionist), objected to a date being fixed for the Act to come into force on the ground that Sinn Fein might make a dangerous use of the Southern Parliament. Fisher, replying for the Government, said that refusal or acceptance of the oath of allegiance is to be the test of whether the "freely-elected Parliament should or should not be suspended.

A clause was carried without dissent declaring that "the supreme authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters and things in Ireland and every part thereof." A clause repealing the Home Rule Act of 1914 was carried by 179 votes to 17. G. N. Barnes, James Parker and G. H. Roberts voted for it.

Lloyd George said the Labour Members, finding it difficult to reconcile differences amongst themselves

"have very judiciously withdrawn discussion to another sphere. They went over to Ireland with the idea that they were going to get Irish opinion behind them on some scheme that would be acceptable to the Labour opinion of this country. . . . There is no Labour Member who proposes anything that would be acceptable to Sinn Fein."

A few Labour Members take part in some of the discussions on the Irish Bill, including Jack Mills and Brigadier-General Sir Owen Thomas; the majority remain away.

Irish Raids for Arms.

June 29th.—1,713 raids for arms by police and 1,381 by police and military occurred in Ireland between 1st January and 31st May. Arms were found in 167 cases.

Sinn Fein Courts.

June 30th.—Donegal County Council has granted the Ballyshannon Court-house for Republican Courts.

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Dublin County Council refuses to pay the police rate. It considers that where the British Government controls, the British Government should pay!

OIL.

June 28th.—Lloyd George said that the ownership of the oil deposits in Mesopotamia would be "secured to the Arab State as part of the administrative arrangements under the Treaty and Mandate . . . but"—and this is a very large "but"—"it is clear that due consideration will have to be given to rights legally secured before the War. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company is a participant in a group claiming such rights. I am in communication with the French Government in regard to the terms of the Anglo-French agreement in regard to Mesopotamia."

Lloyd George added that the Arab State would receive a royalty or profit on the oil sold. Do not worry, Mr. Capitalist, the Lloyd George Government will see to it that the royalty or profit to the Arab State will not be high, and that you will get substantial benefits in return for even that small tax!

Wedgwood asked that the agreements regarding oil in Mesopotamia and the Mosul Vilayet with the old Turkish Government and private or national concessionaires should be laid on the Table of the House.

Lloyd George refused: Mr. Capitalist prefers such agreements to be kept secret.

June 29th.—Kellaway (Secretary Department of Overseas Trade), said "assurances given by the Turkish Government before the War to the Turkish Petroleum Company covered the whole of the Mosul and Baghdad Vilayets." The company is a British one.

June 29th.—Mr. Baldwin, for the Prime Minister, stated that the British Government has paid £4,250,000 to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (in which the Turkish Petroleum Company is merged) in payment for 5,000,000 ordinary shares, 1,000 preference shares and 199,000 debentures. The interest and dividends received by the Government to December, 1919, amounted to £523,644. The value of the shares has risen. The Government has taken to investing big sums of money in all sorts of business concerns, just to assist the capitalist by providing him with capital out of the moneys wrung from the British people as a whole.

July 1st.—Major the Hon. Ormsby Gore, who, though a Coalition Tory, seems to be rather less corrupt than the majority in our "business" Parliament, asked whether all the pre-War concessions granted by the Turkish Government in regard to oil in the Vilayet of Mosul are now vested in the Turkish Petroleum Company, whether that company is entirely British, whether the British Government has any holdings in it, whether and to what extent the Dutch Government is interested.

Bonar Law answered that the Turkish Petroleum Company is registered in the United Kingdom, and the participation fixed before the War was: Anglo-Persian Oil Company, 50 per cent.; Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Company, 25 per cent.; Deutsche Bank, 25 per cent. The latter holding "has been temporarily acquired" by the British Government. The Royal Dutch Company is a shareholder in the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Company.

The whole question of developing the Mesopotamia oil-fields is being considered by the British Government.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

At the delegate meeting of the Rhondda No. 1 District of the S.W.M.F., held at Porth on June 28th, a lengthy discussion centred around the action of the employers in prosecuting the miners every time an irregular stoppage occurs. Apart from the officials everyone seemed to be animated with a desire to take such action as would bring to a close this irritating practice. Some thought the question so important that it should be relegated to the South Wales Executive. Being aware, however, of the great results achieved by local strikes and the length of time that would elapse before the full weight of the South Wales Miners' Federation could be brought to bear on the question, many opposed the suggestion.

A large number of delegates had been mandated to support an immediate "down tools" policy until all the summonses issued and pending against workmen for irregular stoppages of work should be withdrawn unconditionally. By a slight majority it was decided to take a ballot on the "down tools" policy. Having regard to the large number of miners who have received summonses and the still larger number who have been "promised" them, it was decided to carry out the ballot at the earliest possible date, which appears to be July 12th.

A Women's Deputation on High Prices.

A deputation representing the Women's Co-operative Guilds and the Women's Section of the Labour Party appeared before the meeting asking for the help and co-operation of the organisation in arranging a huge protest demonstration against the high cost of living. Much good would undoubtedly have been done if a deputation of Communists had visited the women's organisations and explained to them the absolute futility of such demonstrations as a means of raising the status of the workers. No lasting results can be achieved until society is reorganised upon a new basis. To assist in the necessary overthrow of the present system the workers should concentrate their efforts on: (1) Reducing the hours of labour and (2) Forcing up wages to the highest possible level. In this way the path for the Workers' Revolution may be cleared somewhat, whilst no good can come from mere protests against the high cost of living. Whilst the District Meeting agreed to lend their help in organising the demonstration, delegates were assured that the true position would be placed before the workers by the miners' speakers.

Lodges Refuse to Buy Housing Bonds.

The question whether to support the Housing Bonds, which had been referred back to the lodges for discussion, was now finally decided.

A Councillor present urged the delegates to support the Housing Bonds Scheme if only to save the Labour Councillors from being placed in an invidious position. A delegate pointed in reply to the already insolvent condition of the Rhondda Urban District Council. Apparently it is somewhere near a £1,000,000 in debt. He asked the Labour Councillors to show themselves men by coming back to the people who elected them and telling them of the absolute impossibility of solving any of the problems of the workers within the confines of the present system.

Councillor A. J. Cook also took part in the discussion and gave the interesting information that already the Housing Bonds Committee has spent well over £2,000, no small portion of which has gone in propaganda. Apparently, therefore, over one-eighth of the money invested up to date has been spent before any attempt has been made to commence building houses.

The following resolution was carried by a big majority:—

"That this District instructs its representatives on the R.U.D.C. to oppose the system of Housing Bonds and demands that the whole financial responsibility shall be placed on the profits of the industry."

Opposition to Piecework.

The desire to end the piece-work system is still expressing itself in the South Wales Coalfield. To pave the way for the ballot that is to be taken by the S.W.M.F. upon the question of piece-work, numbers of collieries are disposing of their check-weighers.

Ferndale colliers have this week balloted and by a very substantial majority decided to dispense with the check-weighers. This is important, because, at Ferndale, in direct opposition to what is usually found, the check-weighers are a keen body of men, fully alive to the requirements of the workers. The Ferndale men, at least, have not desired to dispose of their check-weighers because they were reactionary, but because the workmen are determined to end for ever the evil conditions created by piece-work systems.

A. J. Cook on Increased Contributions.

Had Comrade Cook read these notes before writing his article on the case for increased contributions to the S.W.M.F., which appeared in the *Dreadnought* last week, he would have understood the opinion of most of the class-conscious rank and file in relation to this question.

Having, however, no desire to descend to the so-called "intellectual" level of debate, I will refrain from pointing to any of the glaring inaccuracies in Comrade Cook's article, as, for example, the statement that lodge funds are used for the examination of the collieries, but I prefer to deal with the general principles involved. If, in doing this, it should become necessary to recapitulate certain statements that have appeared in previous issues of the *Dreadnought*, I only do so because Comrade Cook as yet, has not dealt with the points at issue.

Some few months ago the M.F.G.B. decided that the rate of contributions should be increased to a shilling per week per member. The adoption of this clause was to be a condition of affiliation of the Districts to the M.F.G.B. South Wales having decided, prior to this decision being made, against increased contributions, it was decided at a later conference of the S.W.M.F. to take a ballot of the South Wales Coalfield upon the question. The reply, as expressed by the ballot, was most emphatically against increased contributions. Obviously the miners of Wales, men who, as members of the S.W.M.F., have in most things been the pioneers for the organised workers of the country, would not refuse to supply the demands made of them without some very good reason. The main reason for the refusal, if our analysis is correct, is dissatisfaction with the present constitution of the M.F.G.B., and further, to channel whereby the causes of the said dissatisfaction can be removed.

In South Wales the miners practice democracy as far as possible, and thus, in most cases, the representatives of South Wales at the M.F.G.B. conferences are mandated by the rank and file upon most of the questions to be discussed.

Divine Knowledge of Elected Representatives.

Unfortunately, this is not the position in the other coalfields, and when conferences are held the aspirations of the South Wales miners are held in check by the reactionary, fat old gentlemen who claim to represent the miners of the other Districts. These men never call conferences of their Districts, except when it suits their own purposes to do so. Living on a far higher level than the men who pay them, they yet claim to understand and to be the interpreters of the desires of the rank and file.

This doctrine of the divine knowledge of elected representatives is as ridiculous as that of the "divine right of kings."

Equal Wages.

Then, as to wages: the last few advances obtained by the M.F.G.B. have been similar in all Districts. Were the cost of living the same in all Districts, obviously no fairer method could prevail, but with such vast differences as obtains for example, between the neighbouring Bristol and South Wales coalfields, this form of increase is unfair.

What we claim, and we know Cook agrees with us, is that each District should decide the amount of increase in wages necessary to meet the peculiar economic circumstances of that particular District, and that action of a national character should be taken to demand the conceding of the various demands put forward.

According to the determination of the South Wales miners, a break must come with the M.F.G.B.

Everyone is agreed upon the necessity of a national FIGHTING MACHINE for the miners. All that we have done is to point out the method whereby the present situation can be exploited to obtain such an instrument.

The programme of the Communist Party says: "a unity that is unity in name only is a source of weakness, and not of strength."

The rank and file of the S.W.M.F. evidently believe this, and surely Comrade Cook has not forgotten how many times he himself has expounded the same view.

Give the South Wales miners an organisation that will assist them in their fight for the overthrow of capitalism, and a bob a week will become a secondary consideration, but we cannot believe the South Wales miners will pay an increased contribution to an organisation that is assisting in holding them in subjection.

Flour Dumped at Ferndale.

At Ferndale a huge stock of flour has been dumped. Inquiries as to its use have so far failed to elicit a satisfactory explanation. The local Federation lodge claims that this flour is becoming unfit for human consumption owing to the ravages of rats, etc.

Is it for an Army of Occupation.

Owing to certain information received, D. Watts Morgan, M.P., has been instructed to ask the following question in the House of Commons: "Is it a fact that the Munster and Leinster regiments have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Wales, and that the flour at Ferndale has been detailed for their use?" A far more practical solution of the problem would surely be to organise a raiding party to capture and then distribute the stock of flour.

The old love of constitutional procedure seems to die a very slow death.

OGMORE VALLEY NOTES.

By "A WAGE SLAVE."

The officials of one of the local collieries seem perturbed over the meeting held on the mountain-side by the Cwmpark and Ogmore boys. Perhaps the officials are under the impression that it was a conspiracy engendered by some foreign agency—Russian or Turkish—with the object of undermining the British constitution. If they wish to appease their curiosity, we heartily invite them to attend our next convention. In order that they may not be shell-shocked, we will here explain the nature of the discussion that will take place. First of all those of us who associate ourselves with such meetings agree upon one fundamental principle—that the present order of society has to be changed. It is an order based upon the exploitation of one class by another, owing to the means of production being owned by a few. Any attempt to change the system will be strongly resisted by those whose interests lie in its preservation; and there is nothing to which they will not resort as a means to an end when the time comes.

Therefore, the discussion will centre upon ways and means of undermining this gigantic blood-sucking structure, as there are more weapons than one that may be used, and sometimes we do not see eye to eye as to which is the best under a particular set of circumstances. For instance, some say we should make full use of the political machine; others say it should only be used under certain circumstances; again, others say under no circumstances should we use it. Such issues can only be decided by the whole movement; so far as Ogmore and Cwmpark are concerned, there are other problems—or shall we say branches of the same big tree—which we must decide ourselves.*

We are directly engaged in production, not voluntarily but compulsorily, in order to get money to go to the shop. The industry with which we are connected is not carried on for our benefit, but for the benefit of its owner. When it ceases to benefit him it comes to a standstill. He runs it for profit, and if that ceases, he has no use for the industry. However well-equipped an industry may be, it produces no wealth unless workers are engaged in it. All the wealth produced by labour goes first to the owner. A portion of this wealth he "gives" to the workers. This is known as wages; the remainder he retains himself, this is known as profits.

The amount of wealth produced in a day, or week, or month, or year, depends on two things; viz.; the length of the working day and the amount of energy expended by the worker. The coal-hewer working eight hours a day at high speed will cut more coal than if he worked only seven hours going slow; the high-speed collier may receive in wages 25s. for his eight hours of work, but he may have produced wealth to the value of 50s., therefore if it only took him eight hours to produce the value of 50s., it is, generally speaking, obvious that he produced wealth equivalent to his wages (25s.) in four hours. Thus wealth is created by labour, and is divided between the employers and their employees, under the title "Wages and Profits"—wages the product of necessary work, profits of unnecessary work. For further information upon this subject see "Shop Talks on Economics" and "Value Price and Profit," which you may borrow from some of the boys, who have been reproved for daring to hold a meeting with your comrades of the Rhondda. Having mastered these two books, have a try at the original "Capital," by Karl Marx, three volumes; and, being instruments of the best class, we can safely assume you will easily master them also. When you have completed them, immediately inform the boys, and they will endeavour to get you appointed full-time lecturers in the Ogmore and Gilfach District of the S.W.M.F. Lecturers are a long-felt want here.

You can now see that to attain our objective, the uprooting of the present social system, the policy and tactics to be intelligently pursued are conditioned by a scientific understanding of the existing system. We are told that if we send certain individuals to Westminster all will be well—i.e., to confine our activities to the political field. We think to do that is to play into the hands of the boss.

South Wales miners are going to have a ballot upon the abolition of piece-work, i.e., the abolition of "high speed"; and, as we anticipate it will carry, we can see you, poor simpletons, running round the working places to prevent "go easy" creeping in. Probably you will succeed in finding some one who is more active from his shoulders down than up who can be enticed with an extra "half Bradbury" to go at high speed, in order to expose his mates. But it will be of no avail; your running and bribing will not retard the onward march of the Welsh miners. They have decided for a five-day working week, so between that and going easy during that five, it will in time tighten the pocket of the boss, who would greatly prefer to have Westminster full of Labourites.

These policies have emanated from the rank and file, and are mostly the product of such unofficial meetings on the mountain-side as that already referred to. Therefore be not alarmed at such meetings. They are simply the efforts of humble wage-slaves like yourselves, to find ways and means whereby they can as soon as possible attain the right to decide their own destiny. Our victory is assured, we are going hand in hand with evolution, and if you would be on the side of the victors, throw in your lot and join us, play the game and stick to your class.

*The majority of the comrades at Cwmpark has already decided this question of Parliamentary Action, and a strong branch of the newly-formed Communist Party is in course of formation.—R.P.)

GUILTY OR NOT GUILTY?

Under the above title, Mr. Harry Boote, the fearless and capable editor of the *Australian Worker*, has produced a 52-page pamphlet, in which he analyses clearly and logically the evidence that was given against the twelve I.W.W. prisoners at their trial in 1916, in Sydney, Australia. This is one of the most sensational documents dealing with the Labour movement, as the Sydney trial was by far and away the most important in the annals of late years. In this pamphlet, Boote shows you the witnesses, skilfully analyses their evidence and scathingly shows the class struggle running throughout the whole case. This pamphlet is now for sale, and we predict a wide circulation for it. Single copies will be forwarded upon receipt of 8d. in stamps. They can also be obtained at 4s. 6d. per doz., or at the rate of 4d. per copy if one hundred copies be taken. Cash with order to the Australian Workers' Defence Committee, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1.

THE TRANSPORT SCANDAL.

The *Daily Herald* has been trying to make a hero of Sir Eric Geddes, the Transport Minister who was given £50,000 by the North-Eastern Railway Company to take up his present office. On the motion to reduce the vote for the Transport Ministry, on July 1st, eleven Labour Members opposed Sir Eric Geddes, and 26 supported him.

The Daily Herald's Story.

The *Herald's* version of the story is this:—

"The guileless politician" [Mr. Runciman] "pledges the taxpayer to pay certain costs. The hard-headed Business Man" [Sir Albert Stanley, now Lord Ashfield] "arranged that his company should net the profits. . . The hard-headed Business Man succeeded the guileless politician as President of the Board of Trade and did not feel called upon to tamper with the very advantageous agreement that he had made as head of a great private trust. . . A new Business Man" [Sir Eric Geddes] "reigns in his stead. . . he knows a bad agreement when he sees one, and he discovered this agreement. . .Sir Eric Geddes obtained the cancellation of the agreement . . ."

The *Herald* goes on to eulogise Geddes as "this new business man with a conscience."

Runciman Out to Protect Railway Shareholders.

The *Herald* story is, however, pure nonsense. Undoubtedly the transaction made by Mr. Runciman was a good bargain for the railway companies and a bad bargain for the Government, but it can by no means be agreed that Mr. Runciman was guileless; he was carefully looking after the interests of his capitalist friends, as capitalist politicians always do in greater or lesser measure. This was an instance of the greater measure, and in Runciman's period of office there were many such.

Geddes Also a Capitalist Protector.

Sir Albert Stanley also put the interests of the railway companies first, but can it be seriously pretended that Geddes has done anything else? If he had taken office to protect the interests of the public against the railway companies, would the Great Eastern have given him £50,000? Geddes says he discovered the notorious agreement by chance. A likely story, indeed, since every railway manager, the railwaymen's unions, and many other people beside, were aware of its terms!

Geddes, on June 24th, told the House of Commons that when he heard of the agreement, he said to Lord Ashfield: "Look here, you will have to get that agreement cancelled," and that Lord Ashfield "agreed to have it cancelled and had it cancelled." Asquith, in the debate of July 1st, replied to that statement: "And is it cancelled to-day? It is not."

In the meantime, Sir Eric Geddes has agreed to allow the railway companies to raise their fares, thereby proving himself as anxious to serve the interests of the railway companies as his predecessors.

It seems to us that there is absolutely nothing to choose between the rival politicians who have dealt with the railway business since 1914; but the Liberals having tried to make political capital out of an attack on the extravagant Transport Ministry, Geddes has retalliated by exposing some of the corruption of the Board under Runciman and the Asquith Government. Asquith, realising that Runciman's bad bargain is difficult to explain away, pretends to know nothing of the terms of the bargain, though he defends the action of Runciman.

Labour Members in Opposite Camps.

The part played by the Labour Members in the controversy was by no means a splendid one. Tom Myers backed Sir Eric Geddes. J. H. Thomas took up the cudgels on Runciman's behalf. He said:—

"I have no hesitation in saying, not only that this was a good agreement for the Government, but that the war would have been lost if some such agreement had not been made . . . it would have prevented the release of railwaymen to the tune of 127,000 to go to the war. . . What is the good of talking about the State contributing £158,000,000, if probably £100,000,000 can be set off against it? . . The arrangement made with the railway companies . . . was the only possible arrangement in the circumstances. . . The idea that this arrangement was a secret one amazed me. It was not only no secret to the Board of Trade, to my personal knowledge, and it was known perfectly well to the railwaymen's union, and was mentioned at public meetings. . . I think it is a monstrous injustice to have reflected either on Mr. Runciman or on Lord Ashfield as to their part in connection with it."

Thomas's defence of Runciman's bargain is very remarkable in view of this statement by Geddes:—

". . . There are three essentials for a pool. The first is that you should fix the division of the various parties; the second is that you should provide that each party shall adequately render the service, carry its proportion of business; and, thirdly, if there is any over-carrying by one party, such party receives a carrying allowance—or the working expenses—for it. . . That arrangement" [Runciman's] "did not include the two latter provisions I have mentioned, the carrying allowance for excess, and the undertaking that there shall be an adequate service maintained. These two elementary provisions were forgotten—elementary in any general manager's office on the railway. That mistake has cost the country: In 1916, £88,000; in 1917, £282,000; in 1918, £471;000; and in 1919, £707,000. . . In 1920 the estimate as given in evidence is £1,000,000."

Thomas went on to make a mild protest that Winston Churchill, just before the election, had stated the Government was committed to railway nationalisation, but that the Government had departed from that policy. Thomas ended by saying: "We consider the Ministry of Transport as essential to the well-being of the community."

George Roberts, the Norwich Labour renegade, who was Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade under Sir Albert Stanley, said that Stanley had "as far as possible" handed over railway matters to him. He went on: "I can say with positive truth that Lord Ashfield was, like Mr. Runciman before him, animated with one desire, and that was to do his best to promote the efficiency of the Department and to serve the country." Roberts had had some doubts, he said, as to the wisdom of setting up a Transport Ministry, but on the whole he favoured that course, and experience convinced him that the Ministry had "secured the services of very accomplished gentlemen." He defended the high salaries paid to them. It should be observed that Roberts did not expose the notorious Runciman agreement. He has supported his capitalist colleagues in everything. All the other Labour Members of the Government have done the same.

W. S. Royce, the Labour Member for Holland, supported Sir Eric Geddes, and said he should be opposed to nationalisation, if it meant paying "a miserable pittance to a permanent officer of the State." [One of the Capitalist Members remarked, later on, that many of those who had spoken were on the look-out for under-secretaryships.] Royce asked for sympathy with Geddes, and hoped that his Ministry would be given "a chance."

James Sexton, of the Dockers' Union, also appealed for whole-hearted support for Geddes.

The Labour Party is indeed composed of eminently moderate men!

COMMUNIST PARTY

British Section of the Third International.

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.—The acceptance of the following points: (1) The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism. (2) The Class struggle. (3) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (4) The Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' Council system. (5) Affiliation to the Third International. (6) Refusal to engage in Parliamentary Action. (7) Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION: Threepence.

Provisional Secretary: EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, 8, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, London, W.14.

Branches' notes and list of meetings, sent in for publication, should reach the Secretary not later than first post Monday morning.—All articles and news matter (other than Branches' notes) to be sent to: 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, London, E.3. and marked: "The Editor, The Workers' Dreadnought."

The "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" may be obtained for sale at 2/11 per quire (26 copies). Usual Trade rates for wholesale and retail newsagents.

All Members should make a special effort to see that our paper is on sale and posters displayed at local newsagents, trade union branches, in the workshop and at all public meetings in their districts.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, July 9th. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. Janet Grove, Wm. Leslie. Beckton Road, Canning Town, 7.30 p.m. May Edmunds, Melvina Walker.

Saturday, July 10th. The Triangle, Peckham, 3 p.m. Minnie Birch, R. Bishop, Melvina Walker. Elm Grove, Peckham, 7.30 p.m. Janet Grove, Wm. Leslie, Melvina Walker.

Sunday, July 11th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. Melvina Walker, Wm. Leslie. Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. G. Deacon, M. Walker.

Monday, July 12th. Lewisham Market Place, 7.30 p.m. Clare Cole and others.

Wednesday, July 14th. Wren Road, Camberwell, 7.30 p.m. Fred Tyler, Melvina Walker.

Friday, July 16th. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. Pyzer and others. Beckton Road, Canning Town. 7.30 p.m. Melvina Walker, Wm. Leslie.

Saturday, July 17th. Meetings in Woolwich.

Sunday, July 18th. Outing, 3-10 p.m. at Federation House (see advertisement).

INDOOR.

Sunday, July 11th. 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. Business meeting of C.P. Poplar Branch.

Thursday, July 15th. 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. Speakers' Class.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Monday, July 5th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, July 8th, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, July 6th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. May Edmunds and others.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

E. E. Swift, profits on literature sales, 15/.—Elizabeth Stevenson, £5.—Twenty weeks of self-tax of "A Communist," £1.—A sympathiser, 5/-.

POSTPONED FROM JULY 4th.

GARDEN PARTY

AND

MUSICAL AT-HOME

At FEDERATION HOUSE

George Lane, South Woodford

(George Lane, on the G.E.R. from Liverpool Street; or by No. 10A 'bus from the Monument down Mile End Road).

SUNDAY, JULY 18th, 3 to 10 p.m.

CONCERT AND SPEECHES.

TICKETS ONE SHILLING.

Refreshments at Moderate Prices.

COMMUNIST PARTY NOTES.

MANCHESTER.

Comrade Frank Elder, 36, Brunswick Road, Broadheath, Cheshire, writes to say: "By a unanimous vote, we of the Manchester and District Social Soviets immediately join the Communist Party without any further consideration of the August procrastinators. We are now, therefore, definitely a part of the Communist Party." Unattached comrades in this district are asked to get in touch with Comrade Elder so that a powerful local organisation for the revolution may be built up.

COVENTRY.

Comrade H. E. Emery, 153, Melbourne Road, Coventry, has been entrusted with provisional organising work for the Communist Party in Coventry and District. All genuine Communists in this district are asked to get in touch with Comrade Emery, so that a branch may shortly be established.

STONEBRIDGE PARK.

Secretary George Downes, 89, Milton Avenue, Stonebridge Park.—On Friday, July 2nd, ex-Councillor Smith, of the D.S. and S. Club, opposed us at our meeting at Manor Park Road. Comrade Tyler challenged him to a debate, which took place on Sunday morning, July 4th, at Manor Park Road. Comrade Tyler scored a great success. *Dreadnoughts* and literature sold well. The branch appeals for speakers to enable us to hold more Sunday morning debates and more week-night meetings.

A few organised opponents broke the windows of our new hall in Milton Road on the night of the opening. We have a bill of £3 6s. 10d. to pay for repairs. Will comrades assist by a donation to our funds?

CAMBERWELL.

New Branch Opened.—A well-attended meeting was held on Wednesday, June 30th, at the Labour Rooms, Peckham Road, when a branch was started with a good nucleus of members. Members' meetings will be held on Monday evenings; outdoor meetings on Wednesdays. Applications for membership and enquiries are coming in from all parts of the county. Comrades everywhere are expressing satisfaction that an uncompromising party has at last been formed.

FUNDS are urgently needed. Literature must be printed, speakers sent out, and district conferences held in readiness for our National Conferences in September.

Comrades should set to work to make the Communist Saturdays a successful reality, and to gather all the funds possible on Communist Sunday.

LITERATURE.—A special effort should be made to increase our sales of literature and *Dreadnoughts*. Volunteer sellers should communicate with the Secretary.

PROGRAMME.—Copies of our programme may be obtained from 152, Fleet Street, price 1d. each or 9d. per dozen (special terms for larger quantities). Every member should procure a supply.

ARRESTS.

On Sunday, June 27th, Comrades Bishop and Archer were arrested in Hyde Park for causing a breach of the peace. Next day Bishop was fined 40s. and Comrade Archer was remanded for a week. Whilst in Holloway she broke nine plates on which the authorities were trying to take her finger-prints. On Monday, July 5th, she was bound over.

LEGAL EXPENSES.

Subscriptions are urgently needed to cover the legal expenses incurred in defending Comrade Burgess, and to pay Comrade Wilgus' fine of 40s. Comrade Wilgus has been removed to Brixton pending deportation. Will comrades please note that he may receive two visits a day and newspapers.

THE BEAST.

The statesmen-hirelings its favour seek.
And the world's news is under its control;
Great are the powers of the mighty clique
That owns the slaving peoples, body and soul.
Down in its shops and offices and streets
The toilers struggle, sullen, underpaid,
And pinch-faced poverty proud Plutus meets,
And pimps and harlots ply their wretched trade.
And in its gorgeous halls where gold holds sway
The smirking mother offers her young daughter
To haughty men for whom all women are play
Or babes, or ornaments, or sheep for slaughter:
Its system makes men parasites or brutes
And tends to make all women prostitutes.

HUGH HOPE.

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